3.

THE ASSOCIATORS CASHIER'D.

PROVING

By undeniable Arguments, as well as by the Testimony of their own Mouthes,

That the late Endeavours of some Restless Spirits

WERE,

1. *To enervate* MONARCHY.

2. *To subvert the Institution of* English-Parliaments, *and usher in the Power of the* Sword.

LONDON,
Printed for *Walter Davis*. 1683.

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WERE,

1. To curb the MONARCHY.

2. To subvert the Institution of English-Parliaments, and usher in the Power of the Sword.

LONDON,
Printed for Walter Davis. 1683.

SIR,

SEEING they have publiſhed an *Exact Collection* of their *Debates* in the Houſe of *Commons*, I hope the Gentlemen will give us leave to make our Judgment on them. And I cannot but obſerve, that they thought themſelves concern'd to be provided of ſuch an *Army* as is deſign'd by the former *Aſſociation*.

To this purpoſe, conſider what is ſaid, *p.* 244. by Sir *H. C. Jan.* 7. 1681. *Things are ſo out of order* (Mr. Speaker) *and ſuch prevalent endeavours are uſed to unſettle them more, that I am afraid, not onely of our Religion, but of the very Government and* Being *of the* Engliſh *Nation: For if theſe things ſhould occaſion* BLOOD, *while the* French *is ſo powerful, He may eaſily have the Caſting Voice; and without that, onely God knows what may be the end of ſuch Confuſions as ſome men endeavour to occaſion.*

But *J. B.* is more expreſs and poſitive. *Sir*, ſaith he, *Will not all the Expedients that have been talked of, or can be imagined, leave us to* conteſt *with our* Lawful Prince; *and that aſſiſtance which he is well aſſured of, not onely from the* Papiſts *here, but in* Ireland, *and from* France *and* Scotland, *I am afraid enough to make it a Meaſuring Caſt. And is the Proteſtant Intereſt ſo low, that though our dangers be ſo great, that inſtead of a* Sword *to defend our ſelves, we muſt be content with a* Sheath? *I am not for cheating thoſe that ſent me here, I think it much more for the Intereſt of the Nation, that we ſhould have no Laws, than ſuch as will but* Trepan *us, by failing us like rotten Crutches when we have occaſion to depend on them. I had rather loſe my Life and my Religion, becauſe I were not able to defend it, than be* fool'd *out of it by depending on ſuch Laws. I take it for granted, that ſeeing the* Excluſion-Bill *is thought too much for us, and ſuch great endeavours are uſed to preſerve the ſtrength and Intereſt of that Party, that we muſt either ſubmit, or defend our Religion by a* ſharp Conteſt; *and therefore I hope we ſhall not depend upon Laws that will tend to weaken us.*

And (2.) That the *ASSOCIATION* in the time of Queen *Elizabeth* would not ſerve their turn, is clear, *p.* 183. 184. by the Speech of Sir *W. J.* in theſe words; *But I am perſwaded, Sir, if this* Aſſociation-Bill *be made* as it ſhould be *that we ſhall have no better Succeſs with it than we had with the* Excluſion-Bill. *For I am afraid, that though we are ſuffered to* brandiſh our Weapons,

yet that we ſhall not be allowed to wound Popery; *but rather do believe, that they which adviſed the throwing out of that Bill, will alſo do the ſame by this, or diſſolve the Houſe before it come to Perfection: For* this Bill *muſt be* much ſtronger *than that in Queen* Elizabeths *dayes; That was for an* Aſſociation *onely after her Death, but I cannot tell if ſuch a* Bill *will ſecure us now, the circumſtances we are under being very different. In* Q. Elizabeth's *dayes the Privy Councellors were all for the* Queens *Intereſt, and none for the* Succeſſor's; *now* moſt *of the Privy Councellors are for the* Succeſſor's, *and* few *for the* King's. *Then the Miniſters unanimouſly agreed to keep out* Popery, *now we have too much reaſon to fear,* there are many that are for bringing it in. *In thoſe days they all agreed to keep the* Popiſh Succeſſor *in* Scotland, *now the* major part *agreed to keep the* Succeſſor *here; All which muſt be conſidered in drawing up the Bill.* Hereupon,

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the Houſe be moved, that a Bill be brought in for an *Aſſociation* of all his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects, for the Safety of his Majeſties Perſon, the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Preſervation of his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects, againſt all Invaſions and oppoſitions; and for preventing the *D.* of *York* or any other Papiſt from ſucceeding to the Crown.

What *Alliance* this *Reſolution* has to the fore-mentioned *Aſſociation*, let the Reader judge.

Nay, I have obſerved ſomething farther, out of the Arraignment of the *E.* of *Shaftsb. p.* 34. which makes me highly confident, that Seditious and Treaſonable Piece was drawn up by a Club of Commoners, or a cloſe Committee of the H. of C. Headed by that Lord. I ſhall (for proof) tranſcribe a few particulars, *viz:*

The Arraignment of the E. *of* Shaftsbury, *p.* 34.

Foreman. Mr. Secretary, I would ask you ſome queſtions. If you did not know of a Debate in the Parliament of an *Aſſociation?*

Mr. Secret. I was not preſent at the Debate; but there was a talk in Town of an Aſſociation.

Foreman. Did not you hear of it in Parliament?

Mr. Secret. Indeed there was an Anſwer to a Meſſage from the Houſe of Commons that had ſomething in it that did ſtrangely imply an Aſſociation; but this particular Aſſociation I do not remember to have heard propos'd.

Foreman. Don't you remember in the Houſe of Commons, Sir, it was read upon occaſion of that Bill?

Mr. Secret. I heard ſuch a thing ſpoke of, but at the reading of it I was not preſent, to the beſt of my remembrance.

The Paper which was Seized in the E. of *Shaftsbury's* Closet, by *Fran. Gwin*, Esq; one of the Clerks of His Majesties Most Honourable Privy Council, and Read *Novemb.* 24. 1681. at the *Old Baily*, before His Majesties Commissioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*.

WE the Knights, &c. Finding to the grief of our hearts, the Popish Priests and Jesuits, with the Papists, and their Adherents and Abettors, have for several years last past pursued a most pernicious and hellish Plot, to root out the true Protestant Religion as a pestilent Heresie, to take away the Life of our Gracious King, to subvert our Laws and Liberties, and to set up Arbitrary power and Popery.

And it being Notorious that they have been highly encouraged by the Countenance and Protection given and procured for them by J. D. of Y. and by their Expectations of his succeeding to the Crown, and that through crafty Popish Councils, his Designs have so far prevailed that he hath created many and great Dependents upon him by his bestowing Offices and Preferments both in Church and State.

It appearing alſo to us, That by his Influence, Mercenary Forces have been levied and kept on Foot for his ſecret Deſigns contrary to our Laws; the Officers thereof having been named and appointed by him, to the appparent hazard of his Majeſties Perſon, our Religion and Government, if the danger had not been timely foreſeen by ſeveral Parliaments, and part of thoſe Forces with great difficulty, cauſed by them to be Disbanded at the Kingdoms great Expence: And it being evident, that notwithſtanding all the continual endeavours of the Parliament to deliver his Majeſty from the Councils, and out of the power of the ſaid D. yet his Intereſt in the Miniſtry of State and others have been ſo prevalent, that Parliaments have been unreaſonably Prorogued, and Diſſolved when they have been in hot purſuit of the Popiſh Conſpiracies, and ill Miniſters of State their Aſſiſtants.

And that the ſaid D. in order to reduce all into his own power, hath procured the Garriſons, the Army and Ammunition, and all the power of the Seas and Souldiery, and Lands belonging to theſe three Kingdoms, to be put into the hands of his party and their Adherents, even in oppoſition to the Advice and Order of the laſt Parliament.

And as we conſidering with heavy hearts how greatly the Strength, Reputation and Treaſure of the Kingdom both at Sea and Land is Waſted and Conſumed, and loſt by the intricate expenſive management of theſe wicked deſtructive Deſigns; and finding the ſame Councils after exemplary Juſtice upon ſome of the Conſpirators, to be ſtill purſued with the utmoſt deviliſh malice, and deſire of Revenge;

venge; whereby his Majesty is in continual hazard of being Murdered to make way for the said D's Advancement to the Crown, and the whole Kingdom in such case is destitute of all security of their Religion, Laws, Estates, and Liberty, sad experience in the Case, Queen Mary having proved the wisest Laws to be of little force to keep out Popery and Tyranny under a Popish Prince.

We have therefore endeavoured in a Parliamentary way by a Bill for the purpose to Bar and Exclude the said Duke from the Succession to the Crown, and to Banish him for ever out of these Kingdoms of England and Ireland. But the first Means of the King and Kingdoms Safety being utterly rejected, and we left almost in Despair of obtaining any real and effectual security, and knowing our selves to be intrusted to Advise and Act for the preservation of his Majesty and the Kingdom, and being perswaded in our Consciences that the dangers aforesaid are so eminent and pressing, that there ought to be no delay of the best means that are in our power to secure the Kingdom against them. We have thought fit to propose to all true Protestants an Union amongst themselves by solemn and sacred promise of mutual Defence and Assistance in the preservation of the true Protestant Religion, his Majesties Person and Royal State, and our Laws, Liberties and Properties, and we hold it our bounden Duty to joyn our selves for the same intent in a Declaration of our United Affections and Resolutions in the Form insuing,

I A.B. Do in the presence of God Solemnly Promise, Vow, and Protest to maintain and defend to the utmost of my Power, with my Person and Estate, the true Protestant Religion against Popery and all Popish superstition, Idolatry, or Innovation,) and all those who do or shall endeavour to spread or advance it within this Kingdom.

I will also as far as in me lies, maintain and defend his Majesties Royal Person and Estate; as also the power and priviledge of Parliaments, the lawful Rights and Liberties of the Subject, against all Incroachments and Usurpation of Arbitrary power whatsoever, and endeabour intirely to Disband all such mercenary Forces as we have reason to believe, were raised to Advance it, and are still kept up in and about the City of London to the great Amazement and Terrour of all the good people of the Land.

Moreover I. D. of Y. having publickly professed and owned the Popish Religion, and notoriously given Life and Birth to the Damnable and Hellish Plots of the Papists against his Majesties Person, the Protestant Religion, and the Government of this Kingdom; I will never consent that the said I. D. of Y. or any other, who is or hath been a Papist, or any ways adher'd to the Papists in their wicked Designs be admitted to the Succession of the Crown of England. But by all lawful means and by force of Arms, if need so require, according to my Abilities. will oppose him, and endeavour to Subdue, Expel and Destroy him, if he come into England, or the Dominions thereof; and seek by force to set up his pretended Title, and all such as shall Adhere unto

unto him, or raise any War, Tumult, or Sedition for him, or by his Command, as publick Enemies of our Laws, Religion and Country.

To this end we, and every one of us whose hands are here under-written, do most willingly bind our selves and every one of us unto the other, joyntly and severally, in the bond of one firm and loyal Society or Association, and do promise and vow before God, That with our joynt and particular Forces we will oppose and pursue unto Destruction all such as upon any Title whatsoever shall oppose the Just and Righteous ends of this Association; and Maintain, Protect and Defend all such as shall enter into it, and the just performance of the true intent and meaning of it. And lest this just and pious work should be any ways obstructed or hindered for want of Discipline and Conduct, or any evil-minded persons under pretence of raising Forces for the service of this Association, should attempt or commit Disorders, we will follow such Orders as we shall from time to time receive from this present Parliament, whilest it shall be sitting, or the major part of the Members of both Houses subscribing this Association when it shall be Prorogued or Dissolved, and obey such Officers as shall by them be set over us in the several Countries, Cities, and Burroughs, until the next meeting of this or another Parliament, and will then shew the same Obedience and Submission unto it, and those who shall be of it.

Neither will we for any respect of Persons or Causes, or for Fear, or Reward separate our selves from this Association, or fail in the Prosecution thereof during our Lives, upon pain of being by the rest of

us

us prosecuted, and suppressed as perjur'd persons, and publick Enemies to God, the King, and our Native Countrey.

To which pains and punishments we do voluntarily submit our selves, and every one of us, without benefit of any Colour or Pretence to excuse us.

In Witnesses of all which Premisses to be inviolably kept, we do to this present Writing put our Hands and Seals, and shall be most ready to accept and admit any others hereafter into this Society and Association.

SIR,

SIR,

YOU have turned me to a hard Chapter; for so it is, to give you my opinion of the *Association*, that lyes under so great debate. I must tell you, 'tis a *Riddle* not easie to be deciphered; The *Assertors* of it call themselves a *Society* *, and twice for failing. This, Sir, is the *Distinctive Character* of the *Jesuites*, and you must imagine an Instrument of such a *Make*, is full of *Mental Reserves* and *Equivocations*; for seeing they have so auspiciously assumed *their Title* and *Appellative*, 'twill be hard if you will not allow them to imitate something of their *Practice*.

* *The Bond of one Firm and Loyal Society*, after the Protest: And *This Society* at the end.

The *Body* of this Monster has already been most accurately dissected by skilful hands, and ingenious Lectures read upon every *Member*, *Vein* and *Muscle* of it. If you think there may be something yet in the Belly of this *Trojan* Horse, that is worthy of your notice, at your command, I shall venture in to search it.

The Knights: They were influenced (it seems) by one of *the other House*, in whose *Custody* this Instrument

was found, if he were not rather the crafty *Contriver* of it. A perſon ſo well known, there's no need of any new Character to deſcribe him: How he has play'd *faſt and looſe* both with King and Subject, needs no other inſtance to demonſtrate than the ſhutting up of the *Exchequer*. Having been at the head of ſo many Seditious *Juncto*'s, Trayterous *Cabals*, *Councils of State*, uſurped and Tyrannical Juriſdictions, you may very well conclude, though he hath learn'd the Art of *ſhifting* ſides, he is not over-ſtockt with *Loyalty*. If any inſolency in his carriage has made him *jealous* that he is obnoxious to a *high* diſpleaſure, no wonder the diſcontents ariſing from ſuch *Reflections*, ſhould prompt him to the courſes he has taken; 'Tis natural for the wounded *Deer* to run into the common *Herd* for ſhelter. And ſuch is the Spirit of our little *Heroe*, whatever ſtands in the way of his Ambition, he'll leave nothing unattempted to remove it. Let Religion ſink or ſwim among the States General, *Delenda Carthago* is his *Motto*.

But let's proceed: **We the Knights**, &c.] This [&c.] is a fatal *Character*, if we can remember that *Et cætera-Oath* which made ſuch a hideous noiſe in the year 40.

Thou art the curled lock of Antichriſt;
Rubbiſh of Babel; *for who will not ſay,*
Tongues are confounded in Et cætera?
Who views it well, with the ſame eye beholds
The old falſe Serpent in his numerous folds.
The Banes are ask'd, and now the times give way,
Betwixt Smectymnus *and* Et cætera.

Cleaveland.

Some-

Something certainly is involved in the ſubtile twirl of this *Dragons* Tayl: If they be *True Proteſtants*, in the ſenſe of theſe *Aſſociates*, they muſt be ſuch as Proteſt againſt the *preſent* Church of *England*, the *Succeſſion* of the Crown, and the *Britiſh* Monarchy. Here we have the very *Spawn* of the *Presbyterian* fruitfulneſs, *Independents*, *Ranters*, *Quakers*, with the reſt of the *Fanaticks* (which proceed from the *Presbyterian*, by an *equivocal* Generation,) and without all doubt, are comprehended within the bowels of this prodigious Character, all *Schiſmaticks*, *Rebels*, *Traytors*, *Regicides*, *Tyrants* and *Uſurpers*, (who, by their own *proper* Names and Titles, were by no means fit to be *dignified* or *diſtinguiſhed*, in ſuch a *Pious* and *Politick* Aſſociation) were cunningly and cloſely tyed up together with thoſe *Knights* in the *Gordian* Knot of this *&c.*

And they ſay, **Finding to the griefe of our hearts, the Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuites, with the Papiſts, and their Adherents and Abettors, have, for ſeveral years laſt paſt, purſued a moſt pernicious and helliſh Plot, to root out the True Proteſtant Religion, as a peſtilent hereſie, to take away the life of our Gracious King, to ſubvert our Laws and Liberties, and to ſet up Arbitrary Power and Popery.**

Here we have a Maſk of zeal made up of a double pretence, *Pro* and *Con*. (1.) For *The Proteſtant Religion, with the preſervation of the Kings Life, our Laws and Liberties.* (2.) Againſt *The Popiſh party, and their Abettors.*

But that we may not be perpetually bewitcht with theſe deluſions, it has been made apparent by a perſon of unqueſtionable knowledge and integrity *, "That theſe great pretended Cham-"pions for *the Proteſtant Religion*,

* A ſhort view of the Troubles, *c.* 44. *p.* 588.

"*the Laws of the Land, the liberty of the Subject, and* "*priviledges of Parliament*, (for these are taken in, too, "in this *Association*) made use of those specious pretences, "for no other end, than to captivate the People, and by "that means get the power of the Sword into their own "mercileſs hands. And (as that Worthy Author expo-
P. 590. ſtulates) "were not there certain *Propoſitions* read "in their Houſe of Commons, (where this *Aſſo-* "*ciation* was firſt ſpawn'd,) which were found in Mr. *Salt-* "*marſh* his Trunk, near *Hull*: Firſt, That all means "ſhould be uſed *to keep the King and his People from a ſud-* "*den Union*. Secondly, *To cheriſh the War, under the no-* "*tion of Popery, as the ſureſt means to engage the People*. "Thirdly, If the King would not grant their demands, "then *to root him out of the Royal line*, and collate the "Crown upon ſome body elſe.

So that they ſerved themſelves of *Popery* for a pretence, and made the *Prieſts* and *Jeſuites* but their ſtalking Horſe, while they aim'd at other Game. If the *Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuites* have a Deſign to retrieve what has been taken from the *Pope* and *that* Church that depends upon him, are not theſe *Aſſociators* equally intent and zealous to make a ſpoyl and *booty* of thoſe Church Revenues which are left? Is not their Religion and *keeneſt* zeal fed upon the Church-lands, which they have got into their poſſeſſion? And why do they ſtickle ſo earneſtly againſt the *Pope*, but to maintain that intereſt? If you could ſecure their fears and jealouſies in this point, aſſure your ſelf, for the moſt part of them, their Conſciences are not ſo ſqueamiſh, but the *Maſs* would go down with them as eaſily as the *Directory*.

'Tis

'Tis very well observed, "That the *Rule* for Doctrine, "Worship and Discipline in the "Church of *England*, at the Refor- "mation, was at first received with "universal joy and approbation, none but *Papists* opposing "it; But some time after, some few discontented men, un- "der pretence of zeal against *Popery*, took the part of the "*Papists* against this *Rule*; and it is observable (saith that "Author) that as one faction grew up and gathered "strength, so did the other; that ones right and left hand "can hardly grow in evener proportion; so that one would "fancy, that either they advanced by some secret *Consent*, "or were nourished from the same common *Stomach*; It "may be (saith he) from him that *Ratavicini* calls the *Sto- "mach*, as well as the *Head* of the Church, the Pope.

A Vindication of the Primitive Church, *p.* 275.

Have not these pretended Protestants and *Et cætera*'s been eager (even to *Sedition* and *Blood*) to throw down the *Enclosure*, to *Repeal* those Laws, and *subvert* that Church-Government which have kept out Popery ever since the *Reformation*? Have they not given their *Emissaries* advantage by their Projected *Toleration* and *Indulgence*, and shelter'd the *Priests* and *Jesuites* (whom they pretend to *Associate* against) in their own *Conventicles*? Nay, to come home to the business, have not these men *Rivall'd* the Papists in their Treasons? Have they not *emulated* them in their practices of *Conspiracy*, and taken the *Hellish* work of Destruction out of their Hands, and subverted both *Church* and *State*, while they pretended the *Popish* party did pursue it?

For, if we put in *Fanaticism* instead of *Popery*, and change the *Popish Priests* and *Jesuites*, into *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, with their *Adherents* and *Abettors*, the design (they set on foot) has not only been, for several years pursued, but

but effectually *performed* and really *executed*, as we very well remember by ſad and woful experience. For did they not *root out* the True Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſht here by the *Authority* of pious *Princes*, as well as the *Blood* of Holy *Martyrs*? Did they not take away the *Life* of our moſt *Gracious King*, the moſt incomparable Prince of Chriſtendome? Did they not ſubvert our *Laws* and *Liberties*, and ſet up *Arbitrary Power* amongſt us? All this they did moſt accurtedly accompliſh to the aſtoniſhment of all Chriſtendome: And yet we have reaſon to believe, that ſuch of theſe *Aſſociators* as were ingaged in it (and perhaps they were not a few) never lookt upon't as ſuch a pernicious and Helliſh *Plot*, nor were toucht with ſuch *Remorſe and grief of Heart*, for that *actual Guilt and Notorious Crime*, as they pretend to have upon the account of this, which is but their own *jealouſie* and *ſurmiſe*.

That the moſt prudent and faithful *Miniſters* of *State* cannot eſcape their *Malicious* Inſinuations, we are not at all to wonder at: 'Tis the frequent practice of all *Malecontents*, when they become *Seditious*: For though it be the *Majeſty* of the Government they aim at, yet they think they can no way wound *That*, with ſo much ſafety, and to ſo great effect, as through the ſides of ſuch Worthy *Miniſters*.

To traduce the *Duke* is the main Deſign of this *Aſſociation*. And indeed, if we well obſerve it, 'tis an unuſual ſtrain of Modeſty in them, that they do not poſitively, as well as by implication, impute it to *the Deviliſh Malice, and deſire of Revenge* in his *Royal Highneſs*, that his *Majeſty* is *in continual hazard of being Murdered, to make way for his own advancement to the Crown.* For they ſay expreſsly, *That by his Influence, Mercenary forces have been levied, and kept on foot for his ſecret Deſigns*: Which,

Which, it seems, are not so *secret* but they can, if not penetrate, yet conjecture and imagine them. But as the King is most concerned herein, so hath he best opportunity to examine it and find it out, if there were any truth in't, or colour for it.

Whereas it is suggested, that *the levying of those Forces was unaccountable*, their *Disbanding difficult, and at the Kingdoms great expence:* There's not a little Malice coucht in that allegation. To what purpose *those* Forces were raised, is not unknown to such as have a mind to understand; and the Service which some of them perform'd, was not *secret*, but in the open *Field*, and so *eminent*, that Foreign States and Princes will remember it to their Honour.

But let them ask themselves this question, were *Cromwel's* Forces Levied, or kept up, or Disbanded, without the Kingdoms great expence? Or will the Forces design'd by these *Associators* be raised without money? and will not their *Officers* and *Conductors* expect their Pay? and at whose charge must all this be? and how shall they be Disbanded? do they Promise and Vow here, that *They will never Separate themselves from this Association, or fail in the prosecution thereof during their lives?* And (if they were once in Arms) we might believe them, though they were not engag'd upon such *Temporal* and *Eternal pain* as is due to *Perjur'd* persons.

This *Party* hath sometimes been very earnest to *embroil* his Majesty in a War with the *French* King, but without any *fond* or considerable *Subsidy* to maintain it. To what end this was projected, wise men will judge, but I shall forbear to mention.

But

But becauſe they cannot ſo eaſily embroil his Majeſty *abroad*, they reſolve to do it *at home*. To this effect, ſeveral *Plots* have been ſet a foot, and they have made their utmoſt advantage of them. And becauſe the great *obſtacle* (which is their greateſt *Grievance* too) is, *The* Militia *in the Kings hand*; They deſign very dutifully (no doubt) to ſeize it without his leave, that they may have it once again in their Power, to ſet up *Committees* of *Publicans* in every County, to make *Delinquents*, and then to *Tax*, *Decimate* and *Sequeſter*, or make them *Compound* for their *own* Eſtates at their pleaſure: And what will follow but a *High Court of Juſtice*, to bring *whom* they pleaſe, to (what they pleaſe to call) *Condign puniſhment*, and at laſt to extinguiſh (as much as in them lyes) the *Royal Family*, and the *Church* of *England*, root and branch. And this ſhall be voted the *Defence* of the *Proteſtant Religion* and our *Liberties*, without our *Properties*, the *Laws* and *Government*, againſt the encroachments of an *Arbitrary Power*. Yea, and the *Janizaries* they employ, ſhall not wear the name of *Mercenary Souldiers*, but be rewarded, as *Cromwel*'s were (for their good ſervice) and be *honour*'d with the Character and Title of *Engliſh* Freemen, and the *Godly Party*. Theſe are the *Priviledges* of the Saints.

But we uſe to ſay, *The Burnt Child dreads the Fire*: And I hope this *Generous* and *Manly* Nation is not grown too *ſtupid* to be taught by *Proverbs*, nor yet become ſo infatuated as to forget ſo freſh and chargeable an experiment.

But they take it for granted, *'Tis notorious, that* "the Po-"piſh Prieſts and Jeſuits, with the Papiſts and their Adhe-"rents, *have been highly encouraged by the Countenance and Protection given and procured for them by* J.D. *of* Y. and that *He has publickly profeſs'd and own'd the Popiſh Religion.*

This they peremptorily averr: but it can hardly be imagined, that *Any* free Prince, at this time of day, ſhould be ſo faſt aſleep, or ill adviſed, as to make himſelf the *Pope's* Vaſſal, to admit a *Supremacy* into his Realm *paramount* to his own; To have his own Royal Authority *confronted* by the *Check* of foreign *Bulls* from *Rome*, or the *Treaſure* of his Kingdoms exhauſted by ſuch *Engines* of Extortion, as can ſerve him to no other end, but to endanger, impoveriſh, and inthrall him.

Conſider but the Senſe of the *Greek* Church, who will not brook that pretended Supremacy in the loweſt ſtate of their Declination; or the preſent Poſture and Reſentments of the *French*, who ſeem ſo weary of the *Pope's* Inchroachments and Uſurpation, that they *kick* and *wince*, as if they were in pain and Travel, to throw his *Holineſs* out of the *Saddle*, in thoſe Dominions.

As for his *Royal Highneſs*, perhaps he may diſdain to have his Integrity queſtioned by a common *Teſt*: many times *Great Spirits* are irritated by ſuch Attempts, (which are therefore, for the moſt part, better let alone than put in practice;) they will not be forced by ſuch *Screwed Engines* to gratifie their Adverſaries with an open profeſſion of that, which notwithſtanding, in their Hearts they may moſt ſtedfaſtly believe.

Yet we cannot take it for a wonder, if his *Royal* Magnanimity, and the deep Reſentments he has for his Bleſſed *Father's* Sufferings under the *bloody* hands of ſeditious Schiſmaticks, will not ſuffer him to be *hector'd* by them into an Approbation of their *Fanatical* Deluſions.

But his *Royal Highneſs* is ſo well ſatisfied with the Church of *England*, as by Law *eſtabliſhed*, that he profeſſeth a great Kindneſs and *Veneration* for it, for the very *Loyalty* remarkable in her Religion above all others; and for that Reaſon, upon all occaſions he declares his Readineſs to preſerve and ſupport it.

Nor have we only his *Highneſs*'s bare Word or Reſolution to relye upon, his eminent *Deeds* are ſuch a ſignal Exemplification hereof in *Scotland*, that the Biſhops of that Kingdom have made their Profeſſion to my Lords *Grace* of *Canterbury*, in theſe Words;

Edenburgh, *March* 9. 1682.

We ſhould prove very defective in Duty and Gratitude, if upon this occaſion we ſhould forget to acknowledge to your Grace how much this poor Church and our Order do owe to his Princely Care and Goodneſs, that his Majeſty and the worthy Biſhops of England *may from you receive the juſt Accounts thereof.*

Since his Royal Highneſs's coming to this Kingdom, we find our Caſe much chang'd to the better, and our Church and Order (which through the cunning and power of their Adverſaries, were expoſed to extream hazard and contempt) ſenſibly relieved and reſcued; which, next to the watchful Providence of God, (that mercifully ſuperintends his Church) we can aſcribe to nothing ſo much as to his Royal Highneſs's gracious owning and vigilant protection of us.

Upon all occaſions he gives freſh Inſtances of his eminent Zeal againſt the moſt unreaſonable Schiſm, which by renting, threatens the Subverſion of our Church and Religion; and concerns himſelf, as a Patron to us in all our publick, and even perſonal Intereſts; ſo that all men take notice of his ſignal Kindneſs to us, and obſerve that he looks upon the Enemies of the Church, as Adverſaries to the Monarchy it ſelf: nor did we ever propoſe or offer to his Royal Highneſs any Rational Expedient which might conduce for the Relief or Security of the Church, which he did not readily embrace and effectuate.

If

If *Officers* have been *named* and *appointed* by his *Royal Highneſs*, none can blame it, but ſuch as have an Ambition to get *that* Power into their own hands. And, if it were lodged in the hands of theſe *Aſſociates*, would the hazard of the King's Perſon, or of our Religion and Government be any whit leſs, or leſs apparent? Nay, we have learn'd by ſad Experience, that the danger would be greater, if their Ruine would not be inevitable.

But they ſay, his Highneſs *has created many and great Dependents upon him, by his beſtowing Offices and Preferments both in Church and State.* A great Crime doubtleſs, in a Perſon that ſtands in that Relation the D. has to his Majeſty. The *Church* and *State* would be well ſerved if all *Offices* and *Preferments* were at *their* Diſpoſal, which is that *their* Avarice and Ambition thirſt and aim at.

But we hope his *Highneſs* has created no *Dependents*; that is, neither made choice of any Servants for himſelf, nor recommended any Officers to the King, but ſuch as are according to the *Standard* of his Wiſe and Renowned *Grandfather*; who adviſeth his Son thus:

" Chooſe ſuch as come of a true and honeſt Race, " and have not had the houſe whereof they are de- " ſcended, infected with Falſhood; ſuch as come " of a good and vertuous kind. For 'tis moſt cer- " tain, that Vertue or Vice will oftentimes with the Here- " tage be transferred from the Parents to the Poſterity, and " run on a Blood, (as the Proverb is) the Sickneſs of the " Mind becoming as kindly to ſome Races as theſe Sickneſſes " of the body that infect in the Seed. *The King adviſes further*; *Baſilicon Doron.* p. 47, 1049.

" See they be of a good Fame and without Blemiſh, and " endued with ſuch honeſt Qualities as are meet for ſuch " Offices as ye ordain them to ſerve in; that your Judg-

" ment may be known in employing every Man according
" to his Gifts.

" But here I must not forget to remember, and accord-
" ing to my Fatherly Authority to charge you, to prefer
" specially to your Service so many as have truly served me,
" and are able for it: --- trusting and advancing those far-
" thest whom I found faithfullest. --- So shall ye not only
" be best served, but ye shall kyth your thankful Memo-
" ry of your Father, and procure the Blessing of these
" old Servants, in not missing their old Master in you.
" And as I wish you to kyth your constant Love to-
" wards them that I loved, so to kyth in the same measure
" your constant Hatred to them that I hated; I mean,
" bring not home, nor restore not such as ye find standing
" banished or fore-faulted by me: --- for *how can they be true*
" *to the Son that were false to the Father?*

I hope, that both his *Majesty* and his *Royal Highness* may follow this grave and sage Advice in the Choice of their *Officers* and *Dependents*, whether design'd to serve in Church or State; and then I am well assured, that few of these *Associators* will hereafter be *Candidates* for Court-Preferments.

We shall see the *Duke's* great Fault at last will be only this, That he is *wise* and *valiant*, *just* and *well-beloved*, *steady* to his Word, and *faithful* to his Adherents; but that which is worst of all in the Opinion of these *Associates*, is, That he is *Presumptive Heir* to the *Crown*, and will suffer no *Republican* to pick out the *Jewels*, or pluck off the *Feathers* of it. But so long as he has so high an *Affection* and *Respect* for the King's Person, and gives Countenance and Encouragement to none but such as are truly loyal and serviceable to his *Majesty*, I hope 'twill be no Crime in His *Royal* Highness to make much of such

as

as own and espouse his *Hereditary* Interest, after the King's Example.

While these men boast of their *continual Endeavours to deliver his Majesty from the Councils and out of the Power of the Duke*, they do but upbraid the King (as they did his Father of ever Blessed Memory) of *Weakness*, as not able to discern what belongs to his *own* Interest and Safety, nor to distinguish betwixt his Friends and Enemies.

Under favour, this is but a course Complement to his Majesty; the Wise Man hath taught us a better Lesson, *That a Divine Sentence is in the Lips of the King*; (and) *his Mouth erreth not in Judgment.* Had it not been for this Holy Oracle, we should have been many times surprised at the celebrated Prudence of his Majesties Conduct (when the Case has been most difficult) in turning our Disappointments into a Satisfaction. *Prov. 16. 10.*

Has not his Wisdom appeared to Admiration, in stemming the *Tyde*, and checking the *Waves* of Popular Rage and Fury, when they seemed to threaten us with an Inundation? Has he not taken the Seditious in their own Craftiness, and made their own Tongues and Pens to fall upon themselves, till they have been glad to take Sanctuary in an *Ignoramus* Jury?

That *Parliaments* have been unreasonably *Prorogued* and *Dissolved*, is another of their *specious* Allegations: but herein his *Majesty* has given such ample Satisfaction, as supersedes all attempts of the like Nature; For, *What can the Man do who cometh after the King?* He that cannot acquiesce with great Contentment in such a *Gracious Declaration*, let him understand the Sense of all *Loyal* Subjects in their solemn *Addresses* of Thankfulness upon that account. Do they not own it as an undoubted *Copy* of that *Original* *Eccles. 2. 12.*

and

and transcendent Goodneſs which the Finger of God has impreſs'd upon his *Royal* Boſom? A *Declaration* ſo full of *Princely Grace* and *Wiſdom*, and generally ſo ſuitable to their Wiſhes, that it did but *anticipate* what of Duty (as well as Intereſt and Inclination) ſhould have been their own *Petition?* and that it left them no room, but for the lively Expreſſions of their Joy and Gratitude? And he that has not joyn'd his *Suffrage* with his Fellow-Subjects in ſuch a dutiful Acknowledgment, muſt certainly be a Member of this *Society*, or a well-Wiſher to it.

Though we have as great a Reverence for *Parliaments* as we ought, yet we cannot but reflect upon't with Grief, that the Compoſition of thoſe Aſſemblies have not of late proved ſo *harmonious* as the ſtate of Affairs required: which puts me in mind of what the Author of that ingenious *Eſſay* upon the Reign of *Henry* the *Third* has obſerved, of ſuch a Convention of thoſe Times.

Compendium politicum. pa. 36.

Thus (ſaith he) *Parliaments, that were ever before the moſt infallible Medicine to heal up any Diſtempers or Malignities, are now grown worſe, and almoſt leſs deſirous than the Maladies themſelves, ſince malevolent Humours and factious Spirits did moſt of all ſway in them, and the well compoſed Tempers had the leaſt ſhare and prevalency in all their Conſultations.* The Fruits and Effects of their unlimited *Seſſion*, who were call'd to Parliament in *Forty One*, we cannot but with bleeding Hearts remember. And whatever reſpect they pretend to have for *Parliaments*, 'tis (as formerly) but to ſerve their own ends: for, (if they may have their own Will) according to the *Project* and Deſign laid in this *Aſſociation*, all *Parliaments* for the future (as they were once already in my own Memory) will be reduced (without a *King* or *a Houſe of Lords*) to a *ſelect Pack* of well-fleſh'd *Rumpers*, to do the *Drudgery* of their *Army*.

The

The *Bill* of *Excluſion* and *Baniſhment* is ſo unreaſonable, and ſo *abſolutely* unjuſt, that we cannot look upon't as *a means of the King and Kingdoms Safety.* And if the D. be of ſuch a *vindictive* Spirit as they ſuggeſt, nay allow him but the *Magnanimity* that becomes his *Highneſs*, or the common *Reſentments* of *Humanity*, and the *paſſing* ſuch a *Bill* had been ſo great and juſt a *Provocation*, it muſt needs have expoſed the King's *Perſon* to great *hazard*, and the Kingdom to the lamentable Fate of a *Civil War*, if not an *inevitable Invaſion* thereupon. And when we reflect upon the *Riſe* and *Progreſs* of our late Confuſions, (ſo black and diſmal in the Event, and ſo freſh in Memory) all good men cannot but be deeply ſenſible of his Majeſties great Care and Princely Wiſdom, in keeping us from the more dreadful Rage of ſuch a *Rupture* as the reſtleſs Malice of ill men ſtudy to promote, whether for the Accompliſhment of their own Ambition, or the ſetting up of their Darling *Commonwealth.*

Whereas they ſay, *They are perſuaded in their Conſciences, that the dangers they ſuggeſt are ſo eminent and preſſing, that there ought to be no delay of the beſt means in their power, to ſecure the Kingdom againſt them:* We comfort our ſelves, that they are no Prophets, (though 'tis no hard matter to fore-tell what they do project, if it be in their Power to effect it,) and that this is not the firſt time they have attempted very ill things, (if not out of Malice, Ambition, and Deſign,) to make the beſt on't, upon the account of an *erroneous* Conſcience.

And whereas they ſay, *They are intruſted to adviſe and act for the preſervation of his Majeſty and the Kingdom:* We are ſatisfied, that they are no farther intruſted by the Laws and Loyal Commons of *England*, than may conſiſt with their Duty and Allegiance; that is, no farther than the King ſhall pleaſe to require their Advice, and allow them to act by his

his Direction or Conſent. Whereupon, the ſo much Renowned Queen *Elizabeth* commanded the *Speaker* to tell the (then) Houſe of *Commons* (thus) in her Majeſties Name, *It is in me and my power to call* Parliaments; *and it is in my power to end and determine the ſame; it is in my power to aſſent or diſſent to any thing done in* Parliament.

In the 35. of her Reign. 1592.

Townſhend's Hiſtorical Collect. p. 63.

Conſequently hereunto, though they call this *Aſſociation the beſt means that are in their power to ſecure the Kingdom*, we are well aſſured, that it is not in their Power at all when the King forbids it, and (as in Reaſon and Juſtice in this Caſe he may and ought) declares it a Deſign to ſubvert both his *Prerogative* and *Government*.

Sed tantum poſſumus quod jure poſſumus.

For to be plain with you, in this deteſtable Contrivance which is here recommended under the ſpecious Title of an *Aſſociation*, every man of Senſe may obſerve with half an Eye, what the Hypocriſie and Subtilty of thoſe ill men have projected, *to ſet up themſelves*, upon the Ruins of the *Royal* Family, the *Engliſh* Proteſtant Church and Nation. For,

1. To ſecure his Majeſty's *Sacred Perſon*, they'll diſband his *Guards*, and remove his Faithful *Miniſters*.

2. To preſerve his *Royal State* and Dignity, they'll cut off the *Succeſſion*, and baniſh his dear and only *Brother* out of his Dominions.

3. To ſupport his *Crown*, they'll *uſurp* the Government into their own hands, and turn it into a *Military* State of *Safety*.

4. For

4. For the Honour of their *Country*, they'll ſubvert that which (to all *Loyal* Subjects, and in the Eſtimation of all wiſe and ſober perſons) is the happieſt *Monarchy* under Heaven.

5. That our *Properties*, *Laws*, and *Liberties* may be kept inviolable, they'll ſet up an *Arbitrary Power*, and ſome Regiments of *Janizaries*, to rule over us, and make us *Slaves* to our Fellow-Subjects.

6. To defend *Religion*, they'll not conſult a Legal and Learned *Convocation*; but they'll lay aſide the *decent* and *diſtinctive* Garment of the *Miniſter*, they'll take away the *Croſs* in Baptiſm, that ancient *Badge* of Catholick and Primitive Chriſtianity; they'll abandon *kneeling* at the *Sacrament*, with all *external Adoration*; they'll turn the *Reverend* Biſhops out of the Houſe of Lords, and *repeal* thoſe *Acts* by which *Uniformity* in the Worſhip and Service of God, ſtands eſtabliſhed; and ſo deſtroy (the *Bulwark* of the *Reformation*) the beſt Proteſtant Church in *Chriſtendom*. All which Particulars, here enumerated, are the *viſible* and *avowed* Deſigns of this *Society* and their *Aſſociation*.

To effect all this, they'll *wreſt* the *Sword* out of the King's hands, and appoint *Officers* of their *own*, to *levy*, *diſcipline*, and *conduct* Forces (how far they'll be *Mercenary* we deſire not to make experiment) without his *Majeſty's* Conſent, and to purſue to *Deſtruction* all ſuch as ſhall *oppoſe* them.

And for all this, we have not only their Lives and Fortunes engaged, under their *Hands* and *Seals*; but

their ſolemn *Promiſe*, *Vow*, and *Proteſtation* in the Preſence of Almighty God.

So that here is a *Deſign* and *Train* laid, to act over again the ſame *Scene* of *Treaſon* and *Rebellion* which has once already (and within our Memory,) turn'd this our flouriſhing Kingdom into an *Aceldama*, and ſmothered the Glory of it in Confuſion.

An *Aſſociation* this is, ſo *hypocritical* in the *Diſguiſe*, ſo *deviliſh* in the *Deſign*, and ſo *deſtructive* in the *Tendency* of it, That what *Knights* or *Et Cætera*'s ſoever they be, that pretend to give it Countenance (in the *Front* of it) we are ſure it could no more be *ſubſcrib'd* (or tendered to Subſcription) by Subjects that have any *Senſe* or *Conſcience* of their *Duty*, than aſſented to by any *Prince* that has Regard to his own *Prerogative*, or the *Welfare* of his People and the Church of God.

In a ſad Reſentment whereof, we find that all *Loyal* Subjects do humbly *proteſt* their utter *Abhorrence* of the ſaid *Aſſociation*, with all other *Plots*, *Deſigns*, and *Practices* of the like Nature; and we ſee alſo, they reſolve not only to *deprecate* them in their *Litany*, (wherein we beg Deliverance from all *Sedition*, *Privy Conſpiracy*, and *Rebellion*) but alſo to engage their *Lives* and *Fortunes* under his *Majeſty* and his Lawful *Succeſſors*, to ſuppreſs them.

'Tis true, as you obſerve, the pretences of *Zeal* and *Piety* (for *Religion*, *King*, and *Country*) are too apt to gratifie the good meaning of ſome, and to impoſe upon the weakneſs of others. And I am not ignorant, that ſuch

Inſinu-

Insinuations have prevailed so far with many, as to make them ready to submit their Necks to the same Yoke which gall'd us formerly, and to become Slaves a second time to the Designs of *Faction*, and the Lusts of their Fellow-Subjects.

But when a stupid *Infatuation* has prevailed with such *easie* men, to put on the like Chains with their own hands, we esteem it not the least of our happiness, that 'tis still in his *Majesty's* Power to knock them off, and reprieve us from that Thraldom.

I tell you not my own *single* Sense, but the Sense of all *Loyal* and *Sober* men, that being taught by so late Experience, that such as snatch at the *Jewels* of the Crown can never think themselves secure of that *Booty*, till our *Property* becomes their Prey too, (as it was in the late *Rebellion*, which began with an *Association*) we are highly obliged to his Majesties *Fatherly* Care and Tenderness, that he will not more suffer an *Arbitrary Power* to insult over his Subjects *Liberty* than to invade his own *Prerogative*.

And the Sense his Majesty is pleased to express of our sad Affliction or Bondage under the late *Tyranny* of *Hypocritical* Reformers, gives us an assured Confidence, that so *Divine* a Clemency (as shines in him) can never delight to hear us groan under the like oppressions.

And His *Royal* Word to secure us against the Attempts of it in *others*, as well as against the practice of it in his own *Dispensations*, is a *Supersedeas* to all our Doubts and Scruples upon that account.

And having the same Security for the full Fruition of our *Religion*, in this Church established, (the most steady and inflexible *Prop* and *Bulwark* of the *Throne*, which therefore makes it no less his Majesties *Interest* than his *Obligation* and *Piety* to support it) we cannot conceive it in any Danger unless betray'd by a *Latitudinarian Neutrality*, or our own froward *Schisms* and *Dissentions*. And we should be secure enough in this point too if we could be timely awakened to consult our own Safety, and *unanimously* agree to make the known Laws the *Standard* of our *Duty*, as his Majesty has graciously resolved to make them the *Rule* of his own Government.

After such Agonies as we have conflicted with through the neglect hereof, the concurrent Practise of this Rule would be the best Atonement of our Differences, and the Ensurance of our Concord. This would extinguish all our present *Plots*, and prevent the Emergency of the like *Projects* for the future; then the Kingdom would be setled in *Peace*, the Church in *Order*, and all sorts of men become *conformable* in a due Obedience. *Successions* would be no more disputed, the Government no more *libell'd*, Loyalty no more *defam'd*, nor the *Dutiful* persecuted by the Tongues or Pens of the *Malicious*, the Pillow of the Crown would be no longer stuff'd with *Thorns*, His Majesties *Throne* would become *safe* and *easie*, his *Sword* victorious, and his Royal *Scepter* had in Veneration.

Perusal His Majesties Gracious Declaration.

And seeing His Majesty has even prevented our most early *Addresses*, in professing that to be his *Royal* Will and Resolution, which should have been our Prayer and Option; and having his *Sacred* Word (published in the face

face of all *Congregations*, before the Presence of the Almighty) to secure *All* we can account *dear* to us; there remains nothing for us to Act but the part of *Loyal* and *Obedient* Subjects, to inable His Majesty to triumph in a *serene* Felicity, maugre the petulant frowardness and treachery of all undermining Factions.

To this end, our Gratitude and bounden Duty puts us under these several Obligations.

1. To abandon those *Fears* and *Jealousies* which crafty and Designing-men (whether out of *Avarice* or *Ambition*) are wont to suggest and raise, to poyson us with *Discontents*, and bewitch us into *Tumults*.

2. To reley upon His Majesties Royal *Word*, His Princely *Wisdom*, and Watchful *Conduct* to protect us in our *Persons*, in our *Laws*, in our *Religion* and *Liberties*.

3. To assist His Majesty with due Supplies, and the utmost Endeavours that the highest Loyalty and Affection can contribute to make his Reign Glorious.

4. To exalt His Majesties Esteem and *Grandeur*, that He may still be courted to hold the *Balance*, and to establish the General Peace of *Christendom*.

5. To make our Acknowledgments legible in our *Practice*, by a *Regular* and *Uniform Obedience*, and a hearty Compliance with all *emergent* Advantages, that may promote his Ease and Royal Satisfaction.

6. To,

6. To ſupplicate on His Majeſties behalf, a long Life, and a vigorous Health, and a Divine Aſſiſtance; that (for the good of theſe Nations) the *thred* of his precious Life, (upon which our Happineſs ſo much depends) may be twiſted with all the Bleſſings of Heaven and Earth, and drawn out in an *even* line of *Contentment*, to the utmoſt extent and period. *Amen.*

ISA. 8. 12, 13, 14.

Say ye not, A Confederacy, to all them to whom this People ſhall ſay, A Confederacy; neither fear ye their Fear, nor be afraid.

Sanctifie the Lord of Hoſts Himſelf, and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread;

And he ſhall be for a Sanctuary.

FINIS.